1: Nachtigall--251 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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1. Colombia

[more lengthy descriptions of each figure and illustration in this section will be found in cat. 116, pp. 295-303.

1: Nachtigall--252 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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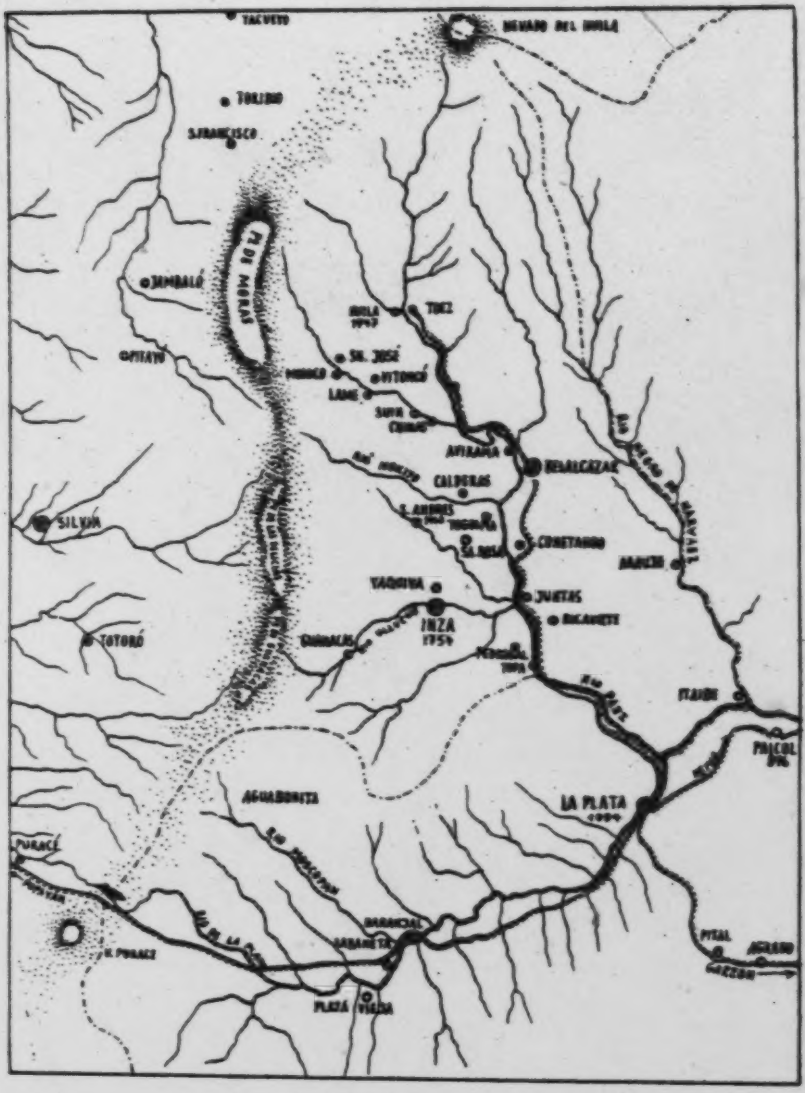

2. Tierradentro

1: Nachtigall--259 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15
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Ill. 1. La Plata, the southern trade center of Tierradentro.

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Ill. 2. The market of Inzá.

1: Nachtigall--261 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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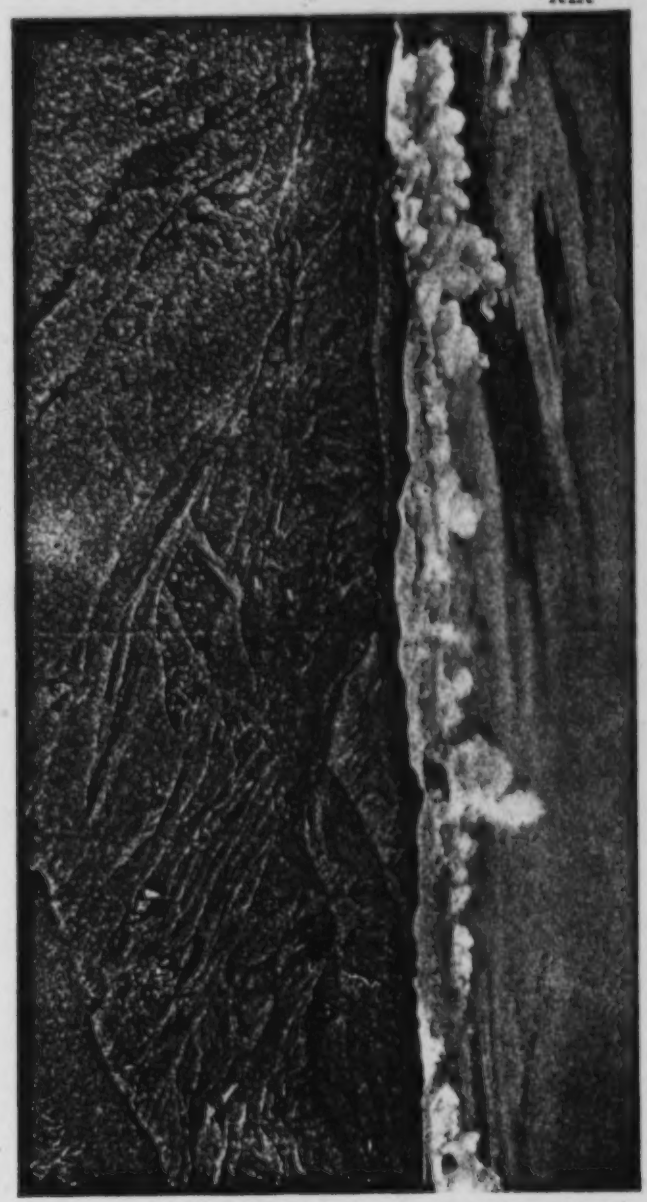

Ill. 5. Southern Tierradentro.

1: Nachtigall--262 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 6. The valley of the Rio Paez.

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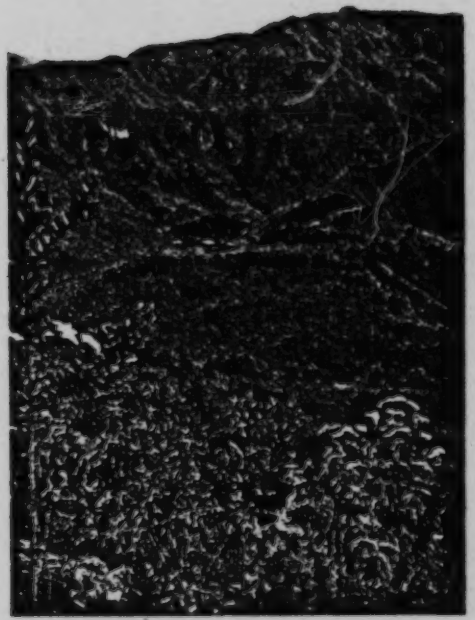
Ill. 7. The Filo de El Aguacate.

1: Nachtigall--263 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

Ill. 8. The San Andrés valley.



Ill. 9. The artificially leveled-off hill Segovia.

/Ills. 10-145 on Plates XXII-LXXVI are omitted in the translation./

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1: Nachtigall--264 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 146. The valley of the Kokiyŏ with Calderas.

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Ill. 147. Calderas with church and festival houses.

1: Nachtigall--275 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 169. Section of a field readied for burning.

Ill. 170. Area used by the village, with fields cleared by burning.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

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1. PIEDRA DE LOS SACRIFICIOS (TAMANDÍ)
2. CUT HILL NEAR TACUETÓ

[facing P. 308]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

173 202 205 he said, "the caciques or chieftains, had their messages transmitted from valley to valley by means of runners who were stationed at short intervals along the main roads. Each runner kept himself in readiness to start on the arrival of a message, thus insuring rapid transmission." As the "planos" and also the old trails are found on almost every ridge, it is difficult enough to judge of the value of this explanation; but, if I am not mistaken, such a system of communication existed without doubt at a short distance southward among the Incas of Ecuador and Peru, and perhaps extended into the Cauca valley.

172 On our return from Huila, while traveling between Toribió and Tacueyó, I noticed on the left an isolated hill with a part of its ridge separated from the rest by a deep cross-cut, evidently artificial. The top of the separated part looked in the distance as if also isolated by a ditch. My friend, Mr Emile Bizot, a mining engineer of wide experience in these parts, informed me that this is a common feature of the hilly district formerly inhabited by the natives, and that the enclosed surface always contains numerous graves (plate III, 2).

172 532 The high peaks of the most rugged districts of Tierra Adentro are often crowned by isolated *huacas*, which are especially sought by treasure-hunters. At Tacueyó we had the opportunity of admiring a set of gold objects found in such graves and of which we made the photograph reproduced in plate II, 2. The frogs are of a type quite distinct from those with which I became familiar in Costa Rica. The representative of a human being recalls certain Chibchan idols, or, according to Mr W. E. Safford, Kitšua amulets. As to the thirteen remaining pieces of gold, quite thin and almost uniform in shape, they are perfectly new to me.

Former and Present Distribution

131 114 133 According to Father Rodriguez[1] the Paez, or Paós, Indians lived on the summit and slopes of the *Cordillera de Guanacas*, "sierra muy fria que llaman el Páramo de las Papas," a defini-

[1] P. Manuel Rodriguez, *El Marañon y Amazonas. Historia de los descubrimientos, entradas y reducciones de Naciones*, Madrid, 1684.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

tion which would correspond pretty well with the explanation given by subsequent authors, except for its last, untranslated member, which seems to imply a lack of geographical knowledge on the part of Father Rodriguez. According to modern maps, indeed, the term "Alto", or "Cordillera de Guanacas, seems to apply only to the group or node of mountains north of the Coconucos and Puracé volcanoes, and south of the towering Huila. This includes the "Páramo de Moras," which we crossed on our return from Tierra Adentro, but not the *Páramo de las Papas*, which is situated south of the Puracé, at the headwaters of the Cauca, Caquetá, and Magdalena rivers.

If we admit, then, that in Father Rodriguez's description the name Páramo de las Papas is merely a lapsus for Páramo de Moras, the area given by him corresponds pretty well with that which is recognized as such by Uricoechea in his introduction to Castillo's work, excepting that the latter extends this area northward to include the upper Yaguará basin. According to Castillo, this last was probably inhabited by another *parcialidad*, which he calls Bemb, "indios infieles de nacion pijaos." At Huila, when pointing northward to the valleys on the eastern slope of the volcano and asking who lived there, the Indians answered, "Los Pijaos", and among the Spanish people it is generally understood that the Paez and the Pijaos are one and the same. This is also the opinion of Reclus,[1] who says: "Among the various tribes that wandered through the thick forests of this [eastern] slope of the [central] Cordillera, the most barbarous were the *Pijaos* or *Paez*, who selected innocent victims to offer to their divinities. The enemy killed in a fight could be only indifferent to the gods; but a woman, a child, an inoffensive stranger, the pure ones, were welcome to the bloodthirsty genii." And these monstrous sacrifices must be repeated at short intervals to insure the permanent good-will of the gods.

The area given on the accompanying map (plate I) corresponds with the above-mentioned description by Rodriguez,

[1] Reclus, *Géographie universelle*, XVIII, p. 305.

THE VILLAGE OF HUILA

The Houses are in the Patches of High Vegetation Scattered in the Savanna. In the Distance is the Huila Volcano, but the Extreme Summit is not Visible

[facing P. 318]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

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2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

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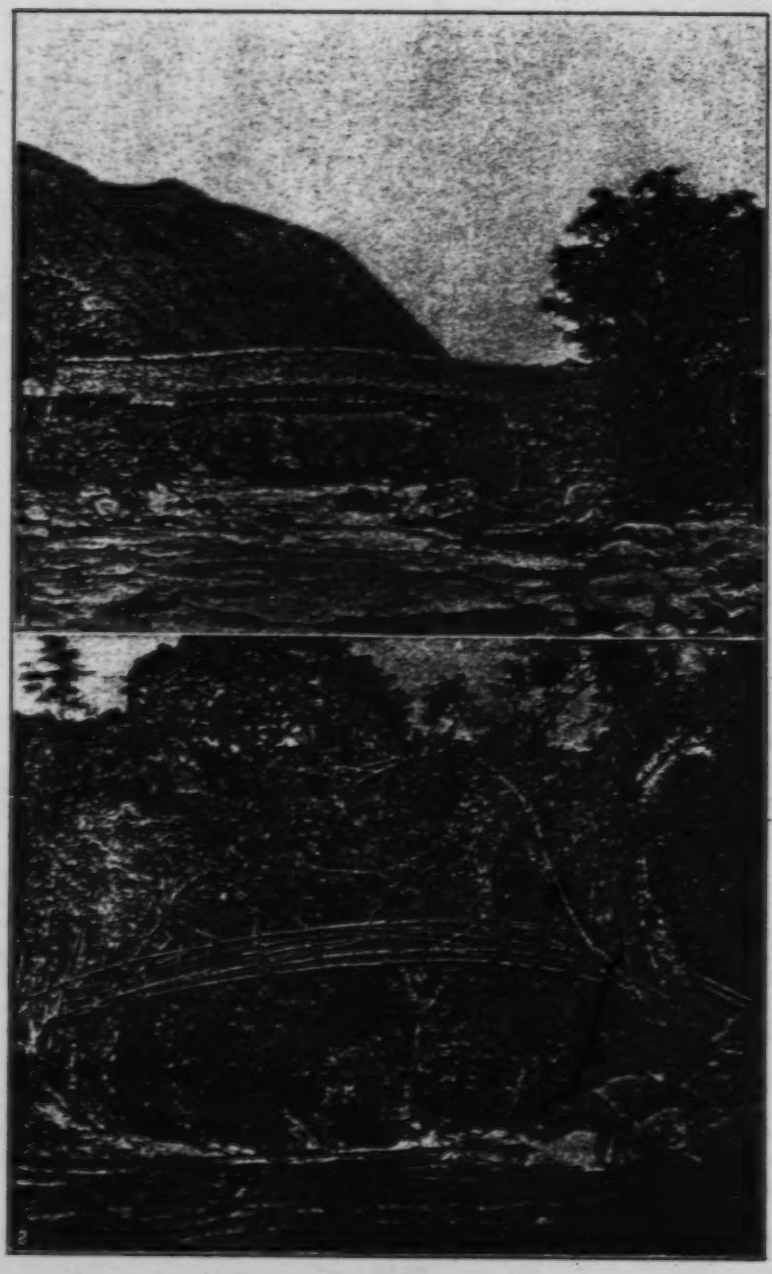

1. BRIDGE OVER PAEZ RIVER NEAR HUILA
2. BAMBOO BRIDGE AT TACUEYÓ

[facing P. 323]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

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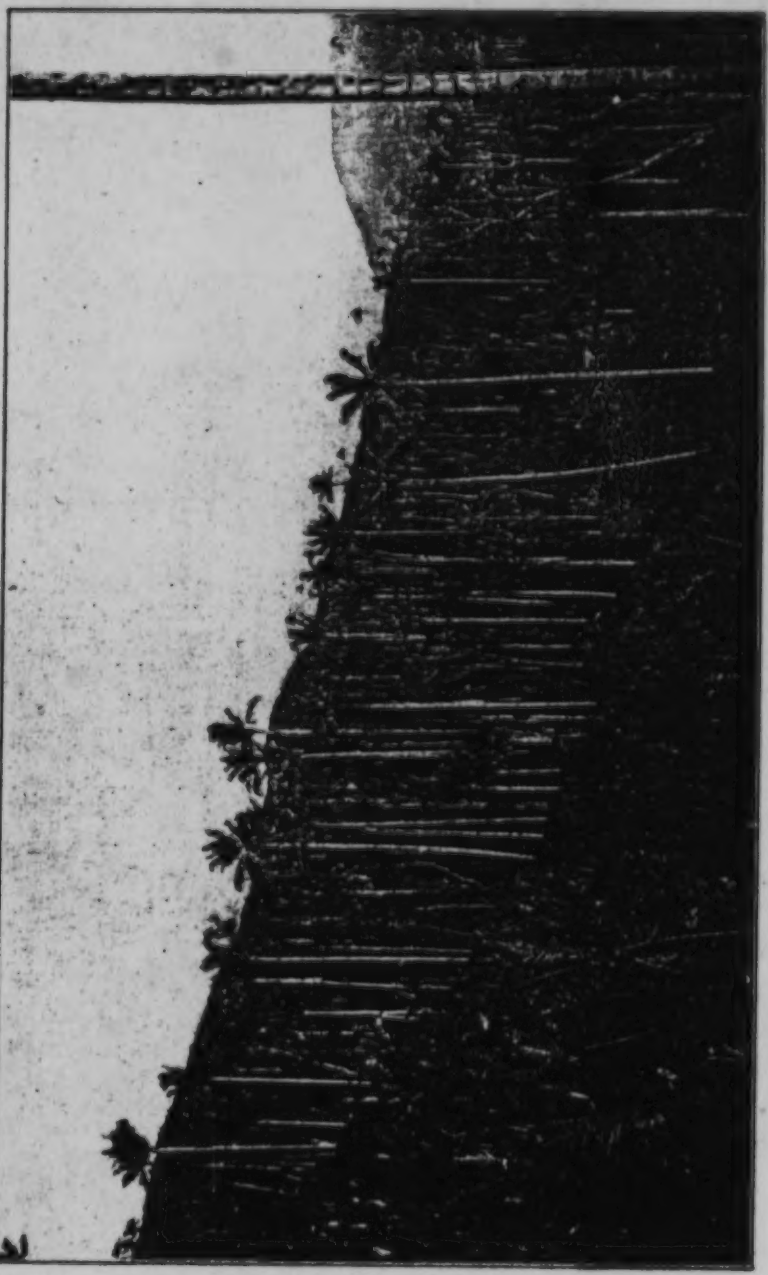

THE WAX PALM (*Ceroxylon andicola*)

[facing P. 327]

3:Bernal Villa--I E-5 (1952) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

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Aspects of Paez Culture
Mythology and Tales from the Parcialidad of Calderas, Tierradentro
by Segundo Bernal Villa

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/281/

Chapter I

131 Geographic location.--In the northeastern part of the de-
133 partment of Cauca, like a spearhead embedded in the department of Huila, is found the region of Tierradentro, formed by the numerous eastern spurs of the Central Cordillera. It has the shape of a triangle formed by the water divides of the hydrographic basins of the rivers Páez and Yaguará to the east and La Plata and Páez to the south. Toward the west, the Central Cordillera rises like a backbone, along which the paramos of Guanacas (3,518 meters), Las Delicias (3,750 meters), and Moras (3,670 meters) stand out. Toward the north, like a gigantic colossus and dominating the vertex of this geometric figure, stands Nevado del Huila (5,750 meters), the highest in Colombia, except for the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta.

133 Topography.--Actually, Tierradentro is a complex of mountains running in every direction, although along general lines they are oriented from west to east on the right bank of the Páez and from north to south on its left bank, rugged, steep, with lofty peaks and great gorges, canyons and hills, ravines and valleys, terraces and escarpments, ridges and plateaus, numerous gullies, rivers, and streams with violent currents and thundering noise. To travel through this region [484] "is to go up or down," as was said by Fr. Pedro de Aguado (1).

1. Cited by Hernández de Alba (Gregorio), p. 925. /See the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 309./

/282 cont./

487 Páez waters upstream, continues along the river Negro, climbs over the cordillera, and reaches Tacueyó.

● 133 Hydrography.--From north to south in a deep and steep bed runs the great Páez, whose frothy waves rush rapidly through the vertigo of the torrents, run swiftly while tracing spirals in the frenzied force of the whirlpools, or leap, being broken into a thousand fragments by the violent shock in the numerous falls and rapids. Born of the thaws on Huila, it receives along its eighty-kilometer course the turbulent /283/ rivers Muesga (San Vicente), Moras, Kukiyú, Ullucos, and La Plata on its right bank, and the Símbola and Negro de Narváez on its left. The Páez river drains all of Tierradentro.

137 Vegetation.--In the major part of the region there no longer exist the "dense and impenetrable forests" mentioned by Carlos Cuervo Márquez. The timber and medicinal species have practically disappeared. The Cinchona genus was heavily exploited during the second half of the past century, when the quinine industry flourished and constituted one of the most vigorous lines in the national economy. The large and dense forests have been cut down systematically by the Indians and colonists to such an extent that the latter are found as far as the steep crags of the Central Cordillera and the hydrographic [314] valleys of the Símbola and Negro de Narváez rivers. On the ridges where virgin forest has miraculously remained intact, it has been noted that it has been entirely cut down within a week in order to make a pasture for the llamas; it is not used, not even for firewood, much less for charcoal, the techniques for which seem to be unknown. In the plains and small valleys of the streams and rivers there is a thriving vegetation which for the most part is of cultural origin, since it was planted to shade the numerous coffee plantations. Gramineae abound. On the hills and plateaus, thickets and shrubs are common, while on the steep slopes pastures present their opulent greenness in winter /the rainy season/ and their yellow-brown tones 600 in summer /the dry season/. The fields are prepared with

The fields are prepared with
/283 cont./

241 machetes and fire. They are the so-called rozas, a barbarous, primitive, and criminal method of agriculture. Burning is a habit of natives and colonists alike and goes so far that even the vegetation of the cliffs, crags, and escarpments is burned, where obviously no practical use can be derived and in addition it leaves the denuded rock at the mercy of the agents of erosion.

136 Fauna.--The fauna consists of a few classes of ophidians and small mammals: tinajos, coatis, pacas, armadillos, porcupines, foxes, deer, tapirs, sloths, and rabbits. Bears, ocelots, and pumas are found in the virgin montañas. Birds, such as wild pigeons and chachalacas, abound.

132 Climate.--There are no data on the rainfall, temperatures, /284/ and winds of this zone. The climate on the whole is temperate, or, to put it better, it is a coffee-growing climate.

361 Owing to the unevenness of the terrain, the natives inhabit
133 a region that extends from 1,000 meters (Itaibe) up to 2,500
132 meters above sea level (Suin, Mosoco, Vitoncó, and Lame). According to Dr. Gregorio Hernández de Alba, at the time of the Conquest the Paez peoples of Tierradentro inhabited "altitudes and climates between 2,620 meters with 13 degrees centigrade and 1,650 meters with 17 degrees centigrade on the average" (1).

1. Hernández de Alba (Gregorio), p. 917 /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 309/.

132 The atmospheric humidity and the rainfall increase as the cordillera becomes higher and snow-capped Huila draws nearer, with two summers and two winters, influenced, of course, by the topography, the vegetation, and proximity to the summit. There is an intense summer during the months of January and February, and another in July, August, and September. The winters are intense during the months of March-June and, on a smaller scale, in October-December. Snow-capped Huila

/288 cont./
583 in the church, live together for a period of indeterminate duration, explaining that /289/ the man does not have enough money at hand to marry as soon as he asks the woman, and it is necessary to work in order to obtain it.

771 Religion.--The religion of the Paez is formally Catholicism,
177 but many of their traditions are hidden in it. The principal
[796] fiestas of the natives are religious ones, which acquire true strokes of splendor. The Catholic priest is called upon for the ceremonies of baptism, marriage, and cases of death.

Chapter II

631 Calderas.--Incrusted in the very heart of Tierradentro is the
131 Parcialidad of Calderas, bounded on the north by a high ridge
● 133 that separates it from Chinas and Avirama; on the east, La Muralla, the very model of a fault, separates it from Avirama, just as a ridge separates it from Togoima; to the south, deep gorges and high peaks separate it from San Andrés and Togoima; to the west, the Quebrada Guacharaca divides it from the Parcialidad of Lame.

133 It is crossed from west to east by the Quebrada Kukiyú,
631 actually a river in terms of the volume and violence of its waters, whose bed is deep, enclosed, and inaccessible. Its
[423] left bank is somewhat softened by a beautiful plateau of about 20 hectares, with fertile lands, abundant waters, and on which the pueblo rises; it belongs to the community, whereas the other lands are private property guaranteed by the fact that the owner either personally cleared the montaña or inherited it from his ancestors who cleared the forest. The right bank is steep, harsh,
[161] rugged. Numerous clearings are to be seen on these sloping
[311] lands, indicating the increase in population that compels them to cultivate lands of low fertility and great danger for the laborer.

/178 cont./

361 who have established coffee and sugar-cane plantations and [563] cattle ranches. The natives occupy the steep and barren sec- [177] tions.

[342] The pueblo of San Andrés consists of 23 bahareque houses /houses with walls made with two faces of sticks with mud and stone between them/ with thatched roofs. Only one is of brick and tiles. In its general lines the plan is reminiscent of that of Spanish centers: a central plaza with houses around it.

346 The church, which is large, thatched, and white, has a hand- 361 some façade, with a bell tower, arches and columns, a style reminiscent of colonial architecture; it stands in the center of the plaza and was built in the first decade of the nineteenth century by Padre Joaquín Núñez y Tobar. On its south side there stands a large, very old and dilapidated building where the school and the rectory functions; on the other sides it is surrounded by the colonists' houses.

366 There are two stores with a regular supply of merchandise, and on Wednesdays there is a small market where one beef, a few agricultural products, and chicha are sold.

●133 Toward the end of the Pisimbalá valley are found the not 175 very extensive plateaus of Argentina and El Rodeo. El Rodeo has marked historical significance; for a long time it was called Segovia. In the spirit of conquest and colonization, the town of Nueva Segovia was founded there by Captain Hernando Arias Saavedra in accordance with the mandate of Governor Sancho Espinar, who in 1578 gave up these lands after his vainglorious campaign against the Paez. It was short-lived. On this same plateau Mosquera's rebellion against the government of Don Mariano Ospina Rodríguez was won by his spectacular victory over the government forces headed by [377] General Joaquín París (1). In spite of this, the markets for

1. González, David. Los paeces /The Paez/, manuscript.

4;Bernal Villa--3 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/178 cont./

several leagues around were supplied for a long time with the salt extracted from the three salt deposits that still exist in Segovia. Across from these and on the other side of the Ullucos, in Vivorá, another salt deposit was also exploited.

At the confluence of the small stream called El Escaño and the Pisimbalá, on the right bank of the latter and at the foot of the ridge of Aguacate, the Archeological Park of /179/ Tierradentro, a branch of the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, is located on an alluvial terrace covering an area of two hectares. Founded some 15 years ago, it is in charge of the care and conservation of the archeological monuments, which have been known to the scientific world since 1936, but to which reference was made as early as around the penultimate decade of the last century, when Dr. Carlos Cuervo Márquez carried out his explorations through the "lands of the Paez and much of the Nevado del Huila." Subterranean necropolises with columns, colonnades and niches, black and red geometric painting on a white background, statuary very similar to the Augustinian, ceramics and metalwork are the principal exponents of this culture hardly known in descriptive form.

The Archeological Park of Tierradentro has served as the center of operations for the scientific expeditions which the national government has sponsored, fostered, and supported during the last 15 years.

II

Over the Zigzags of the Road

In order to travel on winding roads one needs horses resistant to fatigue; a dashing spirit must yield to a solemn step, firm tread, and steady pace.

/179 cont./

123 At 11 o'clock in the morning we left the Park, bound for
484 Calderas. The road climbs through the Pisimbalá valley, at
491 first on its right bank and soon on the left, after crossing a wooden bridge with a plank roof; from this bridge to the pueblo of San Andrés, three streams have to be crossed: Chapequís, La Virgen, and the cemetery stream. Along this short distance and at the edge of the road we counted ten houses, all of them thatched except one of masonry, tiles, oil paint, modern manufacture; the others have white washed walls, painted doors, and are generally clean and orderly. They are the houses of mestizos and colonists settled on their respective fincas.

At 11:30 we left the settlement and took the path that leads to Calderas; the road goes ever upward, in slow and slippery
123 zigzags. As we go along, we see houses with graphite-colored
342 roofs and walls which are black when made of mud or (and these are in the majority) yellow when they are of maize stalks; they lie as if submerged /180/ in the plantings of bananas, sugar cane, and yuca; bluish smoke rises vertically in thick columns from the openings.

123 At 12 o'clock we came out on the Mesón, Supok in the
●133 Paez dialect, a small plateau oriented from north to south
[361] and bounded on the east and west by great depressions. Many native huts stand there.

[132] The beautiful valley of the Pisimbalá torrent comes into view in its entirety; contracted at times, then widening more, extensive in length and generally narrow, it descends in a gentle slope in pursuit of the noisy Ullucos; covered with thriving vegetation, it looks like a carpet of living green blending in its tones the stateliness of the cachimbos /búcare, Erytrina umbrosa/, cedars, guamos, gadua bamboo, and yarumos /Cecropia peltata/, and the splendor of the plantings of sugar cane and bananas and the pastures of the herders.

[134] An hour later we reached the Yukaichí ridge, the boundary of the parcialidades /territorial divisions/ of San Andrés and

/180 cont./

Calderas, and the water divide of the Kukiyú river and the Pisimbalá torrent, the former a deep gorge, the latter an elongated basin. Toward the north, the outline of another ridge bounds the horizon and divides the parcialidades of Suin and Chinas. Prominent along it, the Vichaguau peak, the hill Dondotá with the double crests, between which, when the sky is clear, one can see Huila with its eternal snows, where the golden rays of the sun break into a silvery radiance. Toward the east one sees the hills of Chindavá and Potrerito, the heights of Togoima, and the canyon of the Páez. Toward the south stand the mountain ranges of Pangok and El Aguacate, which separates the valleys of the Pisimbalá and the Ullucos; the tablelands of Pedregal, Turminá, and Inzá; the sharp peak of Trueno /Thunder/, the "Kapich" of the natives, a summit of silence, lightning, thunder, and storms. In the place where the sun sets, there rises, stately and challenging, the sharp peak of Hipinjí (1), on which, according to some Indians, lie

1. H = the English h.
   J = the French j.
   Sh = the French sh.

the images of saints, the bells, the clothing, the gold, and the silver which the Paez army carried away from San Sebastián de la Plata after murdering all of its white inhabitants, setting fire to the town, and filling up the famous silver mines which had given the town its name and brought large numbers of adventurers and not a few misfortunes to the Indians. This legend has fired the imagination of the whites and has led not a few to search for them. It is said that several whites went to the Hipinjí in search of the legendary treasure. At the /181/ /illustration appears here/ top of the peak a white flag was waving. One day there appeared on it the following mysterious order: "At 12 o'clock you may clear out this opening." Their enthusiasm was renewed, their fatigue forgotten, and they went to work eagerly. One worker was rewarded by blind

/182 cont./

authentically native achievement which is a true work of engineering; it could not have been done in any other spot or in any other way. The bridge over the Kukiyú was built with two thick beams over which thin cross-pieces have been fastened together with lianas; like all Paez bridges, it has a thatched roof and side rails.

III

Black, Smoking Dots on the Horizon

From Yukaichí one can see almost the entire parcialidad of Calderas, exept for the left bank of the Kukiyú. On the ridge of a hill, at the end of a canyon, on a slight plateau, discreetly hidden on a gentle slope or on a bold declivity, one sees trapezoidal figures that glow like graphite, surrounded by rows of golden stalks of maize. They are the Indians' huts, built far apart, submerged in the green landscape of the plantings of bananas and sugar cane, and through whose openings a thick bluish smoke is always emerging, a sign of life and activity.

While to the Guajira /Goajiro/ livestock is a symbol of sustenance and the tending of herds its concomitant activity, to the Paez the land is the sustainer of man; the black layer that covers the rocks feeds the woodland /monte/ after the harvest; time will tell when it will be mature and ready for fencing in anew the clearings that will yield the longed-for maize, the plenteous arracacha, the small beans, the blooming cabbage, the thick and abundant santo wheat /trigo del santo/; in the grasslands graze the cattle with bright and variegated hides, small, swift horses of great endurance, the many herds of pigs that fight over the tender roots of shrubs, and the mild sheep that yield wool for the men's ponchos, the women's skirts, and the kuetand yahas of both.

/194/

796 Both the fiestero and the albacero have laborers whom they select themselves. The fiestero has the following: three for the

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[788]

distribution of food; three cuetia-makers, two men and one woman; two millers of sugar cane; one fireworks-maker and two women as
796 cooks. The transporting of the sugar cane is done by volunteers
465 who help out daily in exchange for drink. The albacero has the same laborers, and although he does not kill a beef to reward them, he does sacrifice a pig to this end, especially for the fireworks-maker, with all the honors of the table and the demands of etiquette.

[p. 22 skipped in paginating - Analyst]

/198 cont./

273 take with him the "heart" of the aguardiente, thus reducing the
784 quantity and detracting from its quality, for it will be "cold

●133
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273 and tasteless."
[784]

The distillation is done on any day and at any hour; the tax collectors do not go this far; control of this kind has never been permitted, and anyone who dared to do it would risk his
[186] life. Children drink this liquor from the age of three. Abstainers are inconceivable; "only Protestants do not drink," they conclude.

4:Bernal Villa--32 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/202 cont./

415 chicha, and hands it to a person favored and respected by him;
554 the latter takes it, drinks from it, and returns the small gourd;
273

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415 then he is given the suilté. In turn, he fills the small gourd and
554 gives it to the man who presented it to him. Then he distributes
273 the chicha among all those present, beginning with the adults.

/293 cont./

221 on the fincas of the "whites" (1). The social life and the re-
[166]
[464]
[192]
[199]
[128]

1. Generic term with which the natives designate all those who observe the norms of western culture, without any distinction as to race. For convenience we have adopted this usage, putting the term in quotation marks.

ligious fiestas are frequent during this period. The work is done /294/ with devotion and perseverance. It is not done in haste, but there is no resting either.

423 Every Páez family has its lands. This is its ambition. The
[183] primary source of its security. Every crag has an owner whose title has been won by the sweat of his brow. Every crag harbors a rancho that shelters a family. Every inch of land is passionately
[577] defended by the native. The disputes stirred up by this fact are not few. In like manner the cabildos are never so zealous as in the defense of the lands of the parcialidad /a territorial division/.
[648] The areas of settlement /areas of colonization by whites/ are spearheads in the very heart of the community. They were established against the full opposition of the natives. On the other hand, the defense of the land and the prevention of contamination by foreign peoples are postulates of the doctrine. The distribution of the houses suggests in advance the profusion of paths and private property.

When they win the scarce land, the distances and difficul-
[464] ties that loom are not important. They are good colonizers, and it is rare that persons who lack land hire themselves out as permanent peons or become tenant farmers on the great haciendas.
[181] They prefer independence above all.

311 To study the economy of the Páez, certain factors of a
● 133 geographico-physical and cultural nature cannot be overlooked. They are:

1. Thermic levels. The lands now occupied by the Páez of Tierradentro correspond to the thermic levels of cold and temperate. The contour line corresponding to 2,000 meters

/294 cont./

311 passes through Topa, Turminá, Guanacas, El Cabuyo, Malvasá,
●133 Pisimbalá, Lame, La Troja, and Irlanda, from where it twists eastward. The contour line of 3,000 meters, approximately parallel to the previous one, is very close to the ridge of the
[361] Central Cordillera. These two contour lines form a narrow zone that corresponds to the cold thermal level and within which are found the parcialidades of Toez, Huila, Vitoncó, San José, Mosoco, Lame, and Yaquivá, aside from a considerable area from the extinct parcialidades of Guanacas and Turminá.
311 This entire zone represents a "culturally influenced zone" in
[487] the literal sense that Professor Guhl gives it (2). A fine bridle-

2. Guhl, E. "Ambiente Geográfico-Humano de la Costa del Atlántico /Geographical-human Environment of the Atlantic Coast/," Revista Geográfica, p. 159.

[489] path joins Mosoco and Silvia, crossing the Paramo de Moras. The traffic of people is intense and constant during almost every /295/
311 month of the year. In the last decades, this has been an active zone
648 of native and "white" colonization. It still remains so. Coscuro
361 and Malvasá, in the Parcialidad of San Andrés, are purely "white" regions of colonization. But Tumbichukue, the high parts of Lame, Mosoco, San José, Huila, and Toez are zones of exclu-
361 sively native colonization. The importance of Mosoco is out-
311 standing. It was a great center of Páez settlement and still is, in the same manner as Pitayó and Tacueyó are on the other side of the Cordillera, but we cannot state on this account that "the major part of the settlements and the most important ones for the Paeces" are located in the cold region, as was stated
[177] categorically by Professor José Pérez de Barradas. Mosoco,
[433] fully in the process of acculturation, is a good producer of potatoes, wheat, and maize. It is the true Tierradentro in
[648] physiography, production, and progress. But in the times of
[175] the Conquest it was the people of Tálaga, Avirama, Calderas, and Togoima who defeated Ampudia and Belalcázar, and the

/296 cont./

13 and are of very good quality. The wheat and coffee from the
241 municipio of Inzá enjoy a deserved reputation in the republic for the quantity and quality of their crops.

●133 The Páez River receives approximately 32 watercourses on
134 the left bank, and 17 on the right. It is easy to imagine the ruggedness of the terrain if we bear in mind the fact that each
[241] one of them forms an impassable ravine. It is also easy to imagine the magnitude of the erosion, assisted by factors of a cultural nature, such as the systematic battle against herbaceous vegetation by means of the system of annual fires. The violence of the wild waters denudes and even forms veritable rivers of stone, such as are seen at the place called Vicanenga in the municipio of Páez. The streams and torrents sometimes swell to extraordinary proportions. In 1949 the Topa torrent completely washed away its small tributary valley, on which stood the hamlet known by the name of Brisas, now Valencia, a flood which was repeated in April of this year.

241 Of course, the extent of the workable land does not keep
133 pace with the increase in population. The physiography of the
134 cold thermal level, on the other hand, spreads out and flattens
[161] a little, the horizon broadens, the patches of arboreal vegetation increase, and the plots multiply, like veritable chessboards in Mosoco, San José, and Vitoncó. Their soils nourish maize, wheat, potatoes, ullucos, nasturtium, and garlic. On the dividing lines between the plots there rise, like green walls, the plantings of cabuya.

161 3. Population density. The growth of the indigenous popu-
361 lation in general, and of the "white" one in particular, has
311 compelled the former to utilize lands increasingly more difficult, steep, /297/ and sterile, or to emigrate in search of uncultivated land. As early as the time of the Conquest we find notes on the spread of the Páez people to the western slopes of the Central Cordillera, forming such nuclei as Pitayó, Tacueyó, and San Francisco. Nowadays, we find Páez groups on the eastern slopes of the Western Cordillera in the department of Cauca, in the departments of Huila and Tolima, and in the Cauca Valley, as Páez

/297 cont./

161 outposts, the centers of Chinche and Potrerillos to the north of
311 the settlement of Palmira (4).
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4. Duque Gómez, L. "Problemas Sociales de algunas parcialidades indígenas del Occidente de Colombia /Social problems of some native parcialidades of western Colombia/," p. 187.

Agriculture and horticulture

241 Agriculture and horticulture constitute the primary source
● 133 of subsistence for the Páez. It covers a wide hypsometric zone,
[433] that goes from 1,000 meters (La Plata, Huila) to well beyond the contour line of 3,000 meters in altitude above sea level (Mosoco). Naturally, the species cultivated vary with the thermal level, and, consequently, the dietetic regimen. What do not vary are the methods of cultivation and, above all, the magical practices
241 associated with them. There are also variations in the extent
134 and the type of cultivable soils. Those used the most in Tierradentro are the ones included in the temperate thermal level. We have already discussed their fertility and extent. The soils of the cold thermal level are fertile and more extensive. Thick humus layers are found in Lame, Mosoco, San José, La Troja, Irlanda, Guanacas, Turminá, and Coscuro. These are, of course, truly privileged zones. Nevertheless, the soils are not rationally utilized or conserved. The land is exploited in an exhaustive manner. A clearing will not tolerate two consecutive plantings. Thus, each year new land, new clearing, new fencing, and new burning are required. After having been harvested once, the ground is abandoned, and in the course of the years it once more becomes covered with shrubs and thickets. After seven years, more or less, the land is again cleared of its underbrush, and the same cultivated species are planted once more. In Calderas, Santa Rosa, and Togoima, maize, arracacha, frijoles, cabbages, potatoes, and sometimes peas are planted. The process described earlier is typical of these parcialidades. In Mosoco and the cold parts generally, maize, potatoes, /298/ broad beans, and frijoles are planted in the same clearing, and

Common Name	Latin Name	Páez Name
Pineapple	Ananas comosus (L) Casargo	chuká
Granadilla	Passiflora Ligularis Jura.	sklal
Coffee	Coffea Arabiga L.	café
Ground cherry	Physalis sp.	ckimbá
Chachafruto	Erythrina edulis Triana ex Micheli	sisual
Pepino	Solanum muricatum Ait.	pina
Yam	Dioscorea sp.	skué
Other cultivated plants:		
Coca	Erythroxylon coca Lam.	esh
Bamboo	Guadua angustifolia Kuth	mum
Bottle gourd	Lagenaria vulgaris Serg.	tuka
Calabash tree	Crescentia cujete L.	shiptuka
Cabuya	Fourcrea cabuya Trel.	bats
Dill	Anethum graveolens L.	llinojo
Mint	Mentha viridis L.	tuchá
Rue	Ruta graveolens.	luda

In reality, as far as a certain type of frijole that the natives call "kacha" is concerned, as well as the ground cherry, the chachafruto, fruits in general, and all the plants listed under "Other cultivated plants," with the exception of coca, the word "cultivated" is unsuitable, since they are practically in a semiwild state. The natives make use of their fruits, consumption thus being occasional and not always necessary.

Although it would appear that the territory of the Páez, at the time of the Conquest, extended up to very close to the Magdalena River, the principal nucleus of the population was located in the temperate zone and in the cold zone. The thermal levels determine the zones of cultivation. One of them goes from 1,000 to 2,000 meters and includes the entire valley of the Páez from Huila to La Plata, and the middle and lower courses of its tributaries Símbola, the river Negro de Narváez, Moras, Kukiyú, and Ullucos. Within it are located the capitals of the district, Inzá and Belalcázar, and the following native aldeas: Itaibe, Chitóquez (Ricaurte), Cuetando, Yaquivá, San Andrés de Pisimbalá, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Avirama, Chinas, Suin, Tálaga, Toez y Huila (Byla), as well as Valencia, Topa, Pedregal, and Turminá. They cultivate principally plantains, manioc, maize, sugar cane, frijoles, arracacha, coca, and coffee.

/301 cont./

153 241 361 which is in full development. The other zone goes from 2,000 to 3,000 meters and contains the pueblos of Calderas, Lame, Mosoco, San José, La Troja, Vitoncó, and Irlanda. They cultivate potatoes, maize, ullucos, wheat, garlic, and nasturtium.

241 In the cultivation of cane, the Paez differentiate the following /302/ varieties: java /Java/, criolla, amarilla /yellow/ (mum ñusha), negra /black/ (ñusha kuchi). Of maize: capio (white, tender, and mulberry-colored) or kukiguafi, the calentano maize /maize of the hot regions/ or kukibah, the hard calentano, and the fine or kukimull. Of potatoes, the kaka chime (white), the kaka kuchi (with mulberry-colored skin), the kaka bé (red), and the tusa /corncob/ potato (has a mulberry-colored heart). Of manioc, they distinguish the noli, guaturunga, pitaleña, negra /black/, and colorada /red/. Of these, the first and last yield in a year and in three years, respectively, and the others in two years.

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Agricultural Cycles

Crop	Planted	Harvested	Successive Harvests
Maize	March-May	In 8 months (temperate)	An annual harvest
	May-Aug.	In 10 months (cold)	An annual harvest
	March-May	In 7 months (temperate)	An annual harvest
Frijole	May-Aug.	In 8 months (cold)	An annual harvest
Broad beans	May-Aug.	In 10 months	An annual harvest
Potato	Oct.-Dec. (paramo)	In 5 months	An annual harvest
	April-Aug.	In 5 months	An annual harvest
Ullucos	April-June	In 5 months	An annual harvest
Wheat	July-Sept.	In 8 months	An annual harvest
Manioc	Any month	In a year (noli)	Continuous
Plantain	Any month	In 2 years	Continuous

6: Bernal Villa--95 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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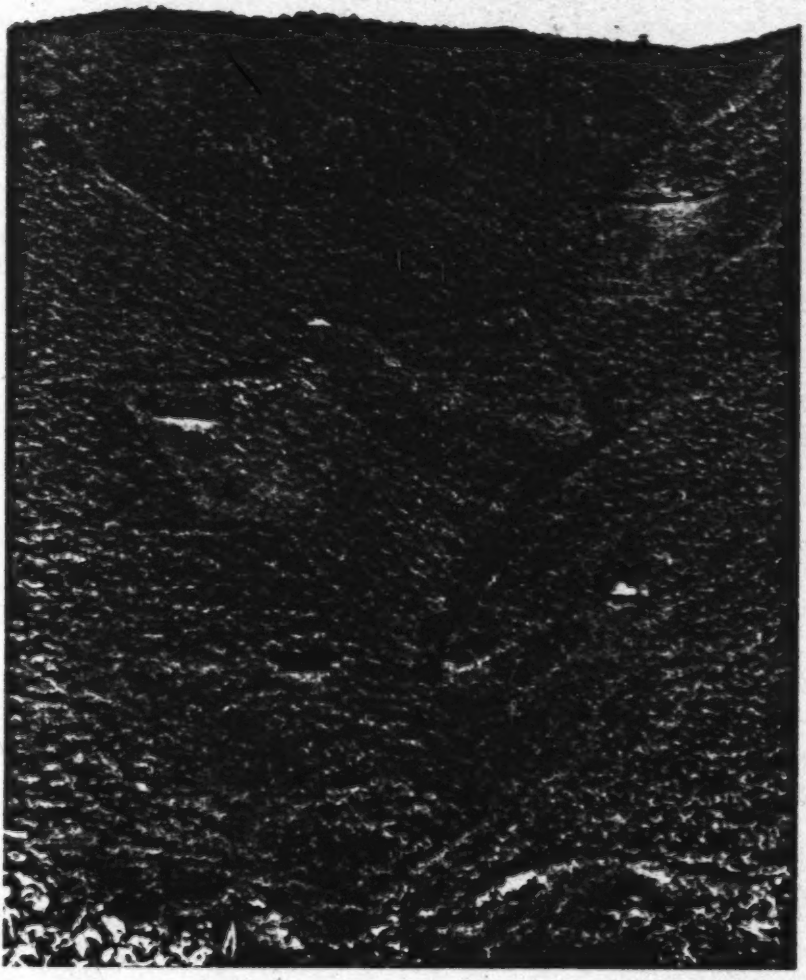

Tierradentro I: A clearing on the slope in El Cuartel (Vitoncó).

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Tierradentro IV: Views of Mosoco. Above: left, panoramic view of Mosoco; right, partial view of the Mosoco plateau. Below: left, houses of Mosoco; right, dwellings, planting beds, and fences of "lechero."

6: Bernal Villa--99 E-5 (1952-1958) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

Tierradentro V: View of the route from Moras (Mosoco), showing the road that leads to Silvia.

6: Bernal Villa--100 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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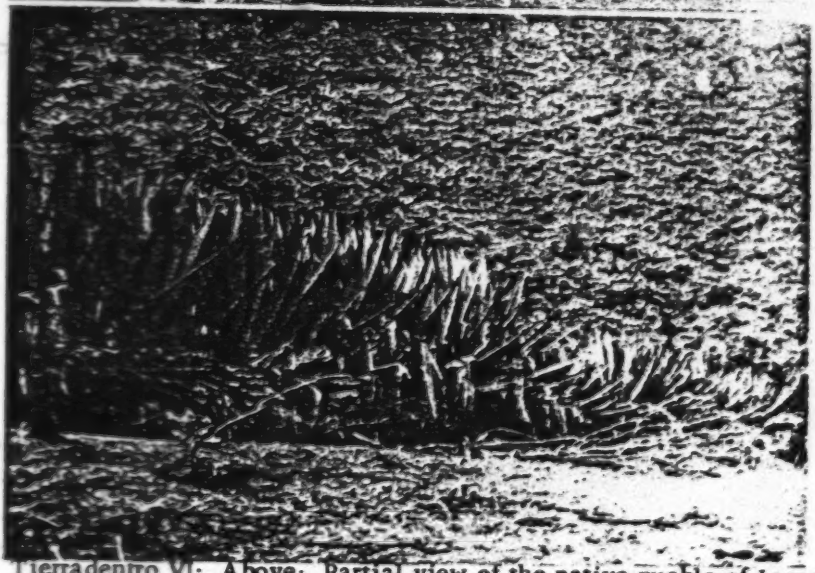

Tierradentro VI: Above: Partial view of the native pueblo of Lame.
Below: Plantings of cabuya (Lame).

6: Bernal Villa--101 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Tierradentro VII: Narrow valley of the Paez River in Juntas, showing the alluvial terraces and the small vegas with plantings of coffee.

6: Bernal Villa--106 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Tierradentro XII: Two married couples from Calderas in the Parque Arqueológico of Tierradentro. The one on the right is a very young married couple.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15

ture, with only slight differences in dialects and customs. Some authorities affirmed that these Indians had no kind of religion; others gave details which reveal a highly developed religion and an organized cult. In spite of these contradictory statements and in spite of the fact that today only the *Moguex* (*Guambia*) and *Páez* Indians retain indigenous cultures, it is possible to sketch the cultural picture of these Indians at the moment of their first contact with the Spanish soldiers by reexamining the chroniclers of the Conquest according to ethnological criteria, by utilizing modern linguistics, and by studying the ethnology of the present-day peoples.[3] It is also possible to trace the acculturation during the Colonial Period, when new European usages were introduced, and to depict the social and cultural conditions of the present day. The modern penetration of highways into the Indian territory and the official policy of changing the indigenous communities are likely to bring an end to these few remaining examples of primitive Andean societies, which have survived in spite of a poor economy, bad sanitary conditions, and missionary efforts to eradicate their traditions.

A fertile field for future research lies in continuing anthropological studies in the central mass of the Colombian Andes. The region is as important for physical geography as for ethnology, as its mountain chains run in various directions to form valleys and diversified environments.

It also contains the archeological remains, known as San Agustín and Tierradentro, which long antedate the Conquest and which have an undetermined origin and relationship to cultures in other parts of America. The present article, however, does not deal with these, but is limited to ethnology.

GEOGRAPHY

The tribes considered in this article occupied the eastern halves of the present Departments of Nariño and Cauca, almost all of the Department of Huila, the southern part of Tolima, and the eastern zone of the Department of the Valle del Cauca, which embraces the western spurs of the Cordillera Central as far as Calarcá in Caldas. The region lies between 1° and 4° 40′ N. lat. and 1° and 3° 40′ west of the meridian of Bogotá. The country consists of high mountains of the Andean system, which bifurcate at the Ecuadorean border to form the Cordillera Occidental, which runs to Panamá, and the Cordillera Central, which approaches the Atlantic coast of Colombia. Each branch has high plains (altiplanos), small valleys with rivers which are tributaries of the Patía River to the west, and high mountain peaks, some of which are volcanoes, like Pasto, Galeras, and Cumbal. The area of

[3] For the languages, see especially Jijón y Caamaño, 1940-41; Castillo i Orosco, 1878; and Castelvi, 1936. For ethnology, see Douay, 1900; Pittier de Fábrega, 1907; Ortiz, 1935; Guerra F., 1942; Jijón y Caamaño, 1936-38; Otero, 1938; Albis, 1934. See also Languages, pp. 921-922.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

The area of this study is delimited on the west by the valley of the Patía River and by the Cuembi, Nambi, and Cuaiquer Rivers, and on the east by the divide between the rivers running to the Pacific Ocean and those flowing eastward into the Caquetá and Putumayo Rivers.

All this region is cool to temperate throughout the year, the extremes being at Túquerres, which lies at 3,104 m. (9,433 feet) elevation and has a mean temperature of 11° C., and Ancuyá at 1,358 m. (4,380 feet) with a mean temperature of 21° C. The greater part of the population lives between 2,890 m. (about 9,470 feet) with 12° C., as at Ipiales, and 2,020 m. (about 6,630 feet) with 18° C., as at Buesaco.

Farther north, the Cordillera Central forms a great mountain mass at the sources of the Cauca and Magdalena Rivers, the latter delimiting the Cordillera Oriental, which extends toward the northeast, entering Venezuela and stopping at the Atlantic Coast. In the Department of Cauca, the native peoples occupied the altiplanos and the mountain slopes of the central portion of the Andes and of the Cordillera Central and Cordillera Oriental. Some of the mountains are snow-capped, like Coconucos (4,800 m.; 15,746 feet) and such volcanoes as Puracé (4,908 m.; 16,102 feet) and Sotará (4,580 m.; 15,026 feet). There are high páramos, swept by icy winds, where only the frailejón (*Espeletia hartwegiana*) and certain grasses grow. Below these heights, the topography is hilly and grandiose, with a succession of hills, terraces, altiplanos, ravines, cañons, and valleys.

Some tribes, like the *Coconuco* and *Moguez*, live in the cold mountain spurs toward the Cauca River; others, like the *Páez* and *Guanaca*, in the high páramos with a climate like that at Moras (3,670 m.; 12,040 feet), Guanacas (3,518 to 3,750 m.; 11,541 to 12,303 feet), Las Delicias, and other places to the east. The *Popayanense* occupy the temperate Valley of Pubén. The *Pijao* lived in the last mountains of the Cordillera Central toward the Magdalena River, which, like the valley of this river, is low and warm, and extended to the Cauca Valley in the neighborhood of Buga.

The country inhabited by the *Popayanense* at the Conquest has an altitude of 1,760 m. (5,775 ft.) and a mean temperature of 18° C.; the *Páez* in Tierradentro, 1,650 to 2,620 m. (5,774 to 8,595 ft.) and 13 to 17° C.; the *Moguez*, 2,521 m. (8,270 ft.) and 14° C. at Silvia; the *Andaquí* in the region of San Agustín, 1,695 m. (5,561 ft.) and 18° C.; the *Yalcón* and *Timaná*, 1,100 m. (3,608 ft.) and 24° C.; and the *Pijao*, 873 m. (2,864 ft.) and 25° C. at Carnicerías, and 1,700 m. (5,577 ft.) and 18° C. at Pijao (Caldas).

Such differences in climate with the consequent differences in flora and fauna contributed to the variations in economy and culture. The high peaks of the cordilleras and the deep rivers were frontiers between the tribes, clearly separating them from one another—the *Moguez*

?Hernández de Alba E-5/(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15

101 from the *Páez*, the *Páez* from the *Pijao*, the *Andaqui* from the *Tama*
13] of Bajo Huila.

This extremely varied habitat offers a great range of food resources
241 and of possibilities for agricultural crops. In the high, cold moun-
●133 tains and altiplanos, between 2,500 and 3,000 m. (about 8,200 to 9,800
132 ft.) elevation, where the mean temperature is 11 to 15° C., the principal crops were potatoes (*Solanum andigenum*), ullucos (*Ullucus tuberosus*), and cubios (*Tropaeolum tuberosum*). In the medium zone, between 1,600 and 2,500 m. (about 5,200 to 8,200 feet), with a temperature of 15 to 20° C., the main crop was maize (*Zea mays*), but arracacha (*Arracacia esculenta*), quinoa (*Chenopodium quinoa*), and sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*), were also cultivated. In the low, warm zone between 500 to 1,600 m. (about 1,600 to 5,200 feet), with a temperature of 20 to 28° C., the main crops were maize, sweet manioc or yuca (*Manihot utilissima*) and beans (*Phaseolus vulgaris*).

136 The cold lands also produced in addition to these principal crops,
[241] maize, squash (*Cucurbita maxima*), wild fruits, birds including ducks (Anatidae), doves (Columbidae), guans (*Penelope*), mammals such as the spectacled bear (*Tremarctos ornatus majori*), and other small, wild beasts like the armadillo (*Dasypus novemcinctus*), guaratinajo (*Dinomys branickii*), guatin (*Dasyprocta fuliginosa candelensis*), and
[231] small fish from the rivers and lakes. The guinea pig (curí or cuy,
[262] *Cavia aperea*), which is prolific in all the climates, was the only domesticated animal and is an important source of food of the modern Indians.

241 The inhabitants of the medium, humid zone were more favored by nature in that crops grew faster and in greater variety. In addition to the plants named, they grew achira (*Canna edulis*), auyama (*Cucurbita verrucosa*), beans (frijoles), and peanuts (*Arachis hypogaea*).
262 Among the great variety of wild foods were fruits, granadilla (*Passi-*
137 *flora ligularis*), guayaba (*Psidium*), guama (*Inga* spp.), avocados
136 (*Persea Americana*), papaya (*Carica papaya*), guanabana (*Annona muricata*), and chirimoya (*Annona cherimolia*), and such animals as deer (*Mazama rufina*, *M. gualea*, and *Odocoileus virginianus consul*), rabbits (*Sylvilagus fulvescens*), guinea pigs, various rodents, and large birds, such as chachalacas (*Ortalis*) and guans (*Penelope*).

Additional foods of the low, warm regions were sweet potatoes, beans (frijoles), and yams (*Dioscorea alata*); such fruits as pineapples (*Ananas sativus*), papaya, custard apple (*Annona squamosa*), cactus fruit (*Opuntia* spp.), and plantains (*Musa paradisaica*); and large fish from the rivers.[1]

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[1] The scientific names of the plants were taken from Cortés, 1919. The mammals were tentatively identified by Dr. Remington Kellogg, of the Division of Mammals, U. S. National Museum, and the birds by Dr. Alexander Wetmore, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5# (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

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PLATE 187.—**Páez weaving and spinning.** *Top:* Woman spinning wool while walking, San Andrés, Tierradentro. *Bottom:* Men weaving straw hats. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p.942c]